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17 August 1966

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Neeting of the Interagency Southern Rhodesia-Zambia Problem and Plans Group on 16 August (42nd)

- In discussing the renewal of the negotiations between Britain and Rhedesia, Mr. Holmes (State), the acting chairman, opined that the talks would probably last through the forthcoming General Assembly session. State had no information about the reconvening of the talks, supposed to have taken place on 15 August in Salisbury.
- 2. Mr. Holmes reported that the British had sounded out leaders in Ghana, Migeria and Kenya about a settlement short of African majority rule in Rhodesia. Ghanaian leaders were not particularly aroused by the Rhodesian issue and planned to take a back seat at the 6 September Commonwealth meeting. Colonel Govon of Migeria stated that force was not possible as a solution of the Rhodesian problem. President Kenyatta of Kenya believed violence should be avoided, but a failure of talks would probably lead to violence. He stated that Kenya's position at the conference had not hardened as yet.
- 3. Zambia has accepted the \$40,000,000 British effer to develop alternative routes to the Rhodesian rail system and to cushion Eambia's economy against Rhodesian retaliation for a tightened Eambian beyoutt of Rhodesian products.

 Mr. Holmes viewed this as a possible indicator that Zambia would not leave the Commonwealth because the agreement is subject to renegotiation if Eambia takes such action.

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- 4. Eambian representatives have taken delivery of two Hercules planes in Georgia and are now in Hambington talking to International Bank officials about credit for the planes and 26 locomotives that GE is making available.
- 3. The group decided to suspend further meetings until developments warrant summoning of the members to consider problems of interest to the various agencies of the US government.

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10 August 1966

MUCHARICATA

SUBJECT: Meeting of the Interagency Southern Rhodesia-Zambia Problem and Plans Group on 9 August (41st)

- that the British-Rhodesian talks are to be resumed on 15 August. They will deal with two main problems: The Smith government's return to constitutionality, and the nesurance that any settlement has the support of all Rhodesians. Mr. Holmes opined that a settlement is not imminent, and any assouncement of a successful conclusion would probably be deferred until late December after adjournment of the UN General Assembly to minimize the possibility of effective African reaction.
- 2. Mr. Holmes is concerned that the decrease in May at the Mambia's POL stocks from the 25,000 tons in May at the end of the airlift to the present 20,700 tons indicates busake and the copper companies may face a serious fuel problem soon. One copper smelter has recently switched to fuel oil for power to relieve dependence on Rhodesia's Wankie coal field, and a second company reportedly plans to follow suit. By October these two smelters would probably need 5,000 tons of fuel oil a month in addition to the minimum Zambian needs calculated last spring.
- 3. The British are making another stab at matisfying Tambin's demands for economic assistance in return for tightened sanctions against Rhodesian trade. However, the warmed-over, slightly more liberal, terms are believed unlikely to tempt Lusaka, which still disagrees with the basic British approach to the sanctions-assistance problem.

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3 August 1966

ME NORWANIAN

SUBJECT: Meeting of the Interagoncy Southern Bhodesia-Kambia Problem and Plans Group on 2 August (40th)

- 1. In a brief presentation, the acting chairman, Mr. Holmes (State), reported on the detention of a group of teachers at the university in Salisbury and the loud protest this action aroused in the United Kingdom. The British mission in Salisbury sent a protest note to the Abodesian Foreign Ministry, an action smacking of British recognition of the Swith regime, according to Mr. Holmes.
- Mr. Helmes reported that copper exports from Zambia via the Rhodesian railway system again appear to be underway with each of the two producing companies limited to a total of 10,000 tons until further notice. He confirmation has yet been received that the copper is transiting Rhodenia, however.
- 3. Zambia's coal deposits at Mkandabwe reportedly are being exploited, but a shortage of railroad cars has prevented shipment of the coal to the consuming areas. This mine, which has extremely limited reserves, has been developed wince Mhodesia's declaration of independence last autumn is a desperate move to develop some Eambien alternative to Rhodesian coal.
- In answer to a question Mr. Holmes indicated that the memo being prepared by the African offices in the Department of State calling for a top level State Department warning to British officials on Shodesia reached Mr. Rusk's desk too late for the Secretary's use during the Wilson visit. The African offices may try to resurrect it as an aide memoire to be given to British Embassy officials.

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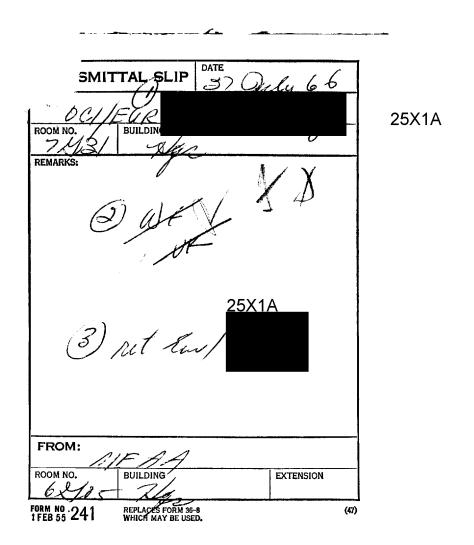
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27 July 1966

MEMORIAMENT

SUBJECT: Meeting of the Interagency Southern Rhodesia-Zambia Problem and Plans Group on 26 July (36th)

- the meeting with a report on his efforts to obtain State Department concurrence for a policy decision on Rhodesia. He desires that American officials tell British representatives that the US could not accord recognition to an independent Rhodesia unless the Salisbury regime were accepted by the world community, and that Washington does not accept as creditable purely Rhodesian assurances of unimpeded African advancement to majority rule. McElhiney believed that if Secretary Rusk approved the policy the British could be informed in one of two ways: President Johnson could tell Prime Minister Wilson on 23 July, or Secretary Rusk could inform the British Embassy earlier in a discussion and side memoire.
- 2. Mr. McElbiney stated that the Department of State has already been asked to prepare a background paper on the Rhodesian problem for the Wilson meeting, and, if Secretary Rusk so decides, a policy paper may be prepared as well. Apparently Rusk and Palmer, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, have not had recent substantive talks on Rhodesia.
- 3. According to the chairman, the new Rhodesian budget prepared by the finance minister in Salisbury is based on an optimistic appraisal of the economy and suggests that sanctions have not burt too badly. The finance minister reportedly has ignored the status of the talks between the British and Rhodesians and has not considered an early end to sanctions.
- A. Mr. McElbiney reported that Zambia has taken some minor steps toward disengaging from the Commonweelth but that any real break would probably be deferred until after the Commonweelth meeting in early September. British officials reportedly see Zambia's actions as tactical moves only. Lusaka has agreed to use the Rhodosian railway system for a "limited" amount of copper transport for the short term until the alternative routes to the north are improved. McElbiney interpreted this to be a face-saving device for exporting most of Zambia's copper production. At present some 75,000 tons of copper ore are stockpiled at the mines in Zambia.

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5. The chairman stated that Eambin is modifying its attitude toward Rhodesian nationalist organizations and reportedly is permitting guerrilla warfare training on its soil. He felt that over the long run such guerrilla activities in Rhodesia might have considerable significance and if mustained would be difficult for the Rhodesian security forces to contain. Hexhiney suggested that the African states eight move to grant recognition to a Rhodesian African government in exile and saw this as a first step in according similar legal status to other nationalist groups from Angola, Mozambique, Bouth Africa, and South West Africa.

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20 July 1966

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Meeting of the Interagency Southern Rhodesia-Eambia Problem and Plans Group on 19 July (38th)

- The chairman, Mr. McElhiney, AF/SE (State), voiced his belief that the United States should put Britain on motice that Washington would dissociate itself from any solution of the Rhodesian problem which seemed like a "sellout" to the Smith government. Consequently his office hoped to get Department of State approval for a meeting between Assistant Secretary Falser and Mr. Killick, Political Counselor at the British Embassy, in which Palmer would state that the US would only recognize an independent Rhodesia if it were accepted by the international community. In other words, a Rhodesian government would have to present a valid claim that it represented majority of the population of Southern Rhodesia.
- 2. British officials have informed Mr. McElhiney that South African Foreign Minister Muller was told by British Foreign Secretary Stewart that South Africa could play a useful mediatory rule in Rhodesia. He wanted Muller to assure Prime Minister Smith that Britain was not requiring immediate sajority rule. London required only unimpeded progress toward majority rule, and that at an unspecified date in the future.
- 3. Mr. McElhiney stated that Zambia's President Enunda is reacting "badly," suggesting that he has an intimation of the "soft" British position toward the Smith government. Reportedly Kenya is concerned about Esmbia's threat to leave the Commonwealth as well as its apparently closer ties to Tanzania, and Mairobi is trying to strengthen its contacts with Lusaka and Dar es Salaam to avoid being read out of the East African transport, economic and political picture.
- 4. In a brief report on the copper mituation in Zambia, Mr. McElhiney stated that at the recent Kinches meeting with Congolese officials, Zambis received a premise that 10,000 tons of copper per month could be shipped ever the Congolese system. In time, as Eashis contributed rolling stock, the tonnage would be raised to 40,000 tens thereby accounting for about 2/3 of Zambia's monthly production.

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13 July 1966

EXCRANGE

SUBJECT: Meeting of the Interagency Southern Rhodesia-Eambia Problem and Plans Group on 12 July (37th)

- ACEINIARY, AF/BE (State), reported that the British-Rhodesian talks would probably not be reconvened until mid-August. Apparently the negotiators have not discovered a formula for guaranteeing the "unimpeded progress toward anjority rule" or for consulting all the people of Rhodesia. British officials reportedly envisage a second house of the Rhodesian legislature with the main function of providing a judicial review of legislation to protect African rights. Because of Prime Minister Wilson's use of the word "likely" in his statement that a "solution must be likely to give effect to the six principles," Mr. McElbiney believes that London may have found a way to recognize the Smith regime as the legal Rhodesian government.
- 2. Mr. McKininey reported that it was a British Foreign Office official, LeQuesne, who leaked the information that Britain would not use force in Rhodesia and that there would be no return to direct rule. In discussing British hopes that the US and UN would support a Rhodesian settlement, Mr. McElhiney suggested that perhaps State Department should dissociate itself from a British-Shodesian settlement in view of an expected African cry of "sellout."
 - 3. The chairman reported that the copper companies in Zambia are supporting Lamaka's efforts to find other routes than the Rhodesian railway system for experts. However, they want Lusaka to permit copper shipments through Rhodesia until September, at which time they hope the alternative routes will be ready. At present only a small amount of copper is being exported and Zambian imports have been reduced worldwide by some 90 percent.
 - 4. In answer to a question, Mr. McElhiney stated that pressure by the American metal importing companies is building up on State Department. The companies claim they will have

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to import chrome, ambestom and lithium from Ehodesia again at the end of some three to four months. State Department has brought this situation to the attention of London, reiterating that sanctions were only envisaged originally for about mix months, but has received little cooperation from the British government in arranging other sources.

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3 July 1968

MENORANDUM

SUBJECT: Meeting of the Interagency Southern Rhodesia-Zambia Problem and Plane Group on 5 July (36th)

- Department still had no word on the substance of the talks between the British and the Rhodesians. However, British officials had forewarned the Department that the talks would be suspended until later this month. Britain is apparently trying to find a formula to "legitimize" the Smith regime by bringing it into a constitutional role, and seems likely to grant independence before majority rule is attained in Shodesia.
- 2. Regotiations between Zambia and Britain over the terms of British aid in return for a Zambian boycott of Rhodesian exports have apparently failed. The British offer of some & 7,000,000 aid was rejected, and London refused an open-ended commitment sought by Lusaka. However, the British negotiating team may press the cabinet for a further & 3,000,000 promise of aid, according to Mr. McElhiney.
- State Department officials are pushing for a transportation study beyond that of the Great North Road in Zambia recently completed by the Stanford Research Institute. The additional study would cover all alternate routes for Zambian trade. Meanwhile, State officials hope to persuade Zambia to continue using the Rhodesian railway system as the most efficient transport route.

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29 June 1966

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Meeting of the Interagency Southern Rhodesia-Zembia Problem and Plans Group on 28 June (35th)

- ing, had little new information to offer on the various facets of the Rhodesian problem. He reported that the UK-Rhodesian talks were recessed, but not sumpended, and Mr. Wright, the chief British negotiator, would return to Salisbury by the end of this week. He had no information on the progress of talks between British representative assistance to Zambia to help case economic problems likely to be omused by a Zambia cutoff of imports from Rhodesia.
- Sanctions were beginning to affect several economic groups, notably the tobacce farmers, and that there was increased concern about the future. He also reported that the African resistance groups in Rhodesia seemed interested in action, particularly the organization of teams to carry on guerrilla warfare. He mentioned that there is a report that one of the organizations may have secured some American rifles from the Hozambique nationalists. The prevailing opinion within the Plans Group as to the effect on the Shodesian security forces if they capture some of these weapons appeared to be that it might be a useful example of American sympathy for nationalist objectives.
- 3. Mr. McElhiney reported that the Stanford Research Institute had finished its study of several transport routes in Eambia and had reported to the Eambian and Tanzanian governments. Reportedly AID is willing to extertain a request for a small sized loan (\$750,000) to cover engineering surveys of Eambia's Great Morth Route. Furthermore, AID is also willing to finance a general study of Central African transport routes.

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22 June 1966

KKMOKANDUE

SUBJECT: Meeting of the Interagency Southern Shodesia-Sambia Problem and Plans Group on 31 June (34th)

- 1. The chairman, Mr. McElhiney, Af/SE (State), gave a priof rendown on two situations of current interest, the Ehodesian railway problem and British aid for Zambia. The railway problem remains confused, and it is not yet certain that Ehodesia will permit the regular transit of certain that Ehodesia will permit the regular transit of cambian copper even though Lucaka has instructed the copper companies to meet Ehodesian demands for prepayment of freight charges in hard currency.
- 2. British negotiator Hart is back is Luseks with an offer of short term aid for Zambia. Assistance would be limited to the period until Rhodesia yields or to the end of 1966, whichever comes first.
- 3. Mr. McSlhinoy stated that London has not replied to a State Department request for information on the British-Ehodonian negotiations. However an official of the Commonwealth Relations Office expressed optimism the Commonwealth Relations Office expressed optimism about the talks and believed that they have now reached the stage when both governments have to make algorificant political decisions.

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